1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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778

FIG. 70. A *tim bager*

•791
789

FIG. 71. 'The soothsayer then began to rattle'

[facing p. 355]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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new soil and the old. This new mound is a *bogere*. When the *bogere* comes, the *bagere* has become strong. When he wants to sacrifice he will say: "My mother, call your father."

'A mother's spirit has power over her son. Suppose your mother's spirit wants to punish (*ey*, lit. to "do") her son, and the father's spirit wishes to prevent her doing so, the mother will say to her husband, "Had I died while in conception, would you have had this child?"'

Among the Nankanse the word *bugere* or *bogere* is used only in connexion with a *bakologo* shrine. An ordinary *bagere* has no *bogere*, but when a soothsayer's shrine is made, in which is, e.g., the soothsayer's mother's mother's spirit, he will fetch earth from his grandmother's town from the *bagere* shrine of her father. This is brought home in a small pot and becomes the *bugere* or *bogere* of the *bakologo*. 'It gives the power to the *bakologo*.'

A Seance attended at Tongo: A woman had died from snake-bite, and after she had been buried a soothsayer was brought to her husband's compound to be consulted about the cause of her death. The family of the dead woman was represented by an Elder from her section. The ceremony began by the consultant holding the soothsayer's bag with both hands and saying, '*N' gyi i lugeri ka kye i nor*' (I hold your sides, but not your mouth). The soothsayer then began to rattle (see Fig. 71), and said, '*N ba Yin, n bol i, la i bol i banam, ka ba tana zin, mam mi nireba n zi wa, ka n po mi bay bol ma sere yi na bay de n be, te te*'. (My father's *Yin*, I call you, and you will call your fathers and they will come and sit down. I know these people sitting (here), but I do not know the reason that they call me. You will know what it is; give us).

He then began to sing:

'*Golugdan, Kanbung mwan lang kai bagere. Yi na bay surdan. Kpolebeo saam yeret; mam kpalim la popelimi koy yiri, ma mam kpelim mwee.*' (*Golugdan, Kanbung*, mere supposition is not (proper) soothsaying. You will know the one who is angry. Bad *dawa dawa* seeds spoil soup. I entered a hole [1]; I became infected with misfortune; I was obedient; now I have no house. Mother, I am still rattling). The soothsayer now emptied out the contents of his bag on the ground; the consultant held the end of the wand and went through the customary performance of picking out objects with it, the soothsayer singing the while. The wand seemed to search among the miscellaneous oddments, pounced on the hoof of a cow, on a fragment of a calabash,

[1] He refers to his having worked in the gold mines.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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NAMNAM

793 562 *Woman Ten'dan'*: 'A woman might become a *Ten'dan'*. She has the right to offer sacrifices, and receive lost things. She sits down saying: "Land receive your water and all your things". After she has said so, a man cuts the throat of the offering. She has a calabash, not a string hat. She owns the land and can stop wars with the corn stalk.' (A female *Ten'dan'* is interviewed later.)

●791 *Rain-makers*: 'A rain-maker is separate from a *Ten'dan'*. He is called *Sa-ran*. We have none here.'

793 764 *Ten'dan' and Funeral Customs*: 'The family of the deceased would "reach" the *Ten'dan'* and he would give them a place to make a grave; were he to refuse they could not bury him. The *Ten'dan'* would send the boy to mark out the grave, making a circle with a calabash and the pointed stick used for digging the grave. He will say:

'*Dakirig* (a grove) some one is dead, can I refuse to bury him, therefore may you hear, and let the "room" be a proper one that he may sleep well?' A sheep is then sacrificed near the grave.

764 *Graves*: The Namnam bury their dead outside, not in, the compound. As many as twenty corpses may be in one grave. Men and women are buried in the same grave. The graves are circular with a bottle-neck. A boy or girl who has not any *nyere* [1] must have a separate grave.

834 A man does not have sexual intercourse with his wife for three years after she bears a child, i.e. if the child lives.

793 *Female Ten'dan'* (*Ten'dan' poka*): Akayiri, a female *Ten'dan'*, who may be seen in Fig. 81, told me the following:

'My ancestress was a *Ten'dan' poka* (a female *Ten'dan'*), called Banams. My grove is called Tinkyena; it is always a female *Ten'dan'* who is in charge of it. The calabash, which the little girl who always accompanies me carries, and my uncut hair, are the signs of my office. I own the land at Zoga. If the Zoga men want to fight, I will go between them, and place a corn stalk on the ground. Zoga has two *Ten'dan'*, a male and a female, but I own the land, as is proved by the fact that mine is the hind leg of all sacrifices; the male only gets a fore-leg. Because "a female may kill a snake, but only a male cut off its head" (*poka ka kure wafo nwa zugo*), therefore, when I have given the sacrifice, the male cuts its throat. This male has no hat or skin. When I say that the land at Zogo belongs to me, I mean it belongs to the spirits. I am their servant. A male *Ten'dan'* may have a wife, but a

[1] See p. 8. This only applies to a child whose mother is still young enough to bear children. [Nyere is a term applied to two children born consecutively of the same parents —Analyst.]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

and these are left on the grave. The iron heads of the [illegible] washed in water containing *grunyoa* grass (*nagwa* in Nankane, [illegible] fumigate everything which has had contact with the dead) [illegible] eased had a *bakolog* (soothsaying shrine) it is fumigated w[illegible]ss.

Driving the Souls of the Living from Graves: 'Some *bayas* [illegible]xtons) can see souls (*sis*) in graves. When they do so, they will take a potsherd and put peppers and tobacco on it and set them on fire and place them in the open grave in order that the soul may be driven out.'

This exhausts the information which I obtained while living with the Kusase,[1] whom I found a charming and delightful people. I pass on in my next chapter to describe the Builsa, whom Europeans know better as the 'Kanjaga'.

[1] The Kusase do not circumcise, nor do their women practise incision, unless influenced by Mampruse connexions, e.g. at Bawku. They file the teeth. The women pierce the lower lip only.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
FE11 Tallensi FE11

will henceforth bring blessings upon him, too, from time to time. And if he becomes a diviner the erstwhile persecutrix becomes his benefactress. The *bakologo* becomes a source of income instead of a standing menace.

As has been mentioned before, a divining shrine is set up for the man it has 'reached (*paa*)' by his matrilateral lineage from which the dominant ancestress of the complex came. For example, Pal-Zəŋ's *bakologo* ancestors consisted of his father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather, and the latter's mother, who was the dominant figure of the group. She had been a daughter of the Gbambee Tɛndaana's maximal lineage. Zəŋ, therefore, had to go to the present head of this maximal lineage to arrange for the setting up of his *bakologo* shrine. Taking a fowl, a guinea-fowl, a basket of grain, and a pot of beer, Zəŋ went to the Gbambee Tɛndaana to lay his request before him. The tɛndaana sacrificed the two birds to his lineage shrine (*bɔɣar*) on Zəŋ's behalf, explaining in his invocation to his ancestors the occasion that had brought their *ahəŋ* to plead with them. He ended with the customary exhortation to the ancestors that they should bless the setting up of the new *bakologo* shrine, assist Zəŋ to become a successful diviner, and grant him prosperity, children, and health. He finally 'scooped' (*fiŋ*) the lineage *bɔɣar* for Zəŋ. That is to say, he put a little of the sediment accumulated at the bottom of the pot, which is the most important part of the paraphernalia of a *bɔɣar*, into a tiny pot for Zəŋ to take home to add to his new *bakologo* shrine. In this way the direct continuity of the new *bakologo* shrine with the matrilateral lineage *bɔɣar* is tangibly symbolized.

Next evening a party from Gbambee arrived at Zəŋ's homestead to perform the ceremony of actually setting up the new shrine. The party consisted of the Gbambee Tɛndaana's own son, representing his father, and several other members of his maximal lineage; for though the immediate responsibility for the ceremony falls on the head of the lineage, the whole lineage is concerned in this ritual service to their *ahəŋ*. At Zəŋ's house they found a number of members of his inner lineage and clan as well as three *ahɔs* of Zəŋ's inner lineage. The ceremony lasted all night. The details are not relevant here, and it need only be said that it consists of a series of ritual episodes with interludes of conviviality and hilarity. It is one of the paradoxes of the *bakologo* complex that the setting up of a divining shrine is one of the least solemn of Tale ceremonies.

The ancestors associated with Zəŋ's *bakologo* comprised a fairly simple combination. Naabdiya's *bakologo* ancestors consisted of his mother's father, *his* mother, and *her* mother. It was the clansmen of the last who came to set up the shrine for their 'grandson' (*yaaŋ*) Naabdiya. To reach them Naabdiya had first to go to his mother's brother's people; they escorted him to his maternal grandfather's mother's brother's